

the righteousness associated with giving those who worked, lived, and died as slaves, giving them a Congressional Gold Medal just as we gave the persons who sought to keep them in bondage Congressional Gold Medals.

Mr. Speaker, I will be asking for this next year. I have already prepared the "Dear Colleague." I have within my hands the "Dear Colleague" that we will be circulating. There will be some people who will be offended because I have said that the Confederate soldiers were enslavers. Well, they fought to maintain slavery.

Now, I know there are many who are going to say they were fighting for economic reasons. Well, that economic reason had to do with slavery. But whatever you choose to think, put that aside, if you would, and just look at what happened to the people. Let's try to correct this injustice.

I will be circulating the "Dear Colleague," and I will let the world know the progress that we are making. This is the kind of thing that you don't simply put in motion and then see if it will make its way to the finish line. I am not wired that way to just watch and see what happens.

I plan to announce the names of those who have signed on. Those who sign on, I plan to announce their name and I plan to thank them for signing on, thank them for doing a righteous thing hundreds of years after the event that occurred.

□ 1700

I will keep a log, and I will let the world know who is signing on to the legislation. I just believe that we need this kind of transparency.

By the way, it won't surprise me to know that there will be people who won't sign on, but I just believe that there are enough who will such that this can move.

My hope is that those who will have an antithetical view as it relates to this, who may be of the same hue as I—yes, there are some people who look like me who will have an antithetical point of view because there are some who are going to say, keep the medal, give us the gold. They will make this an issue associated with reparations and they will say, let's go for the reparations.

I am going for dignity. I want respect. Gold can't buy it. I am not opposed to those efforts, but I would hope that they wouldn't be opposed to these efforts. But I am addressing it now because I want people to understand that that will not deter me.

I believe that we have a duty to the people that helped this country become the great country it is. I call them the foundational mothers and fathers of the country; those who were enslaved, the economic foundational mothers and fathers because they helped to build the economy. They gave us the start that we benefit from to this day.

So to those who would say let's just go for the gold, you do what you

choose. I am not getting in your way. But this is about dignity, and this is about Maya Angelou's commentary that some of us, she said, we are the hope and dream of the slave.

They never had what I have; but I have what I have because they survived and suffered such that my parents and my grandparents and those that I associate with my lineage, produced me.

Mr. Speaker, as I close tonight, perhaps for the last time this year, as a Special Order, I want to express my gratitude, not only to those in this House who have shown me kindness and have been of great benefit, but I want to express my gratitude beyond the walls of the Capitol buildings.

I want to express my gratitude to a country that has noble ideals, noble ideals. I am grateful to live in this country. I am proud to wear this necktie. I love this country. I love it because I believe that we can make real these noble ideals of liberty and justice for all; that we have, as Lincoln put it, government of the people, by the people, for the people. But we have to protect it.

I believe that all persons are truly created equal, and endowed by the Creator with these inalienable rights, among them, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I love my country, I just want to make my country—help my country live up to these great ideals and, among them, as I thank the country itself and the people within it, among these great things that we can do would include honoring those persons who were brought here in chains, the foundational mothers and fathers, economic foundational, foundational economic mothers and fathers of this country, and babies, I might add as well.

This is my last opportunity to speak this year, but I will be back, if it is God's will. When I come back, I am humble, but I am not the person who is going to be so humble as to walk away from my duty. That is not me. I am not wired that way.

I will be back, and I will have these two—no, I am praying that Mr. Avalos will be home with his family and I will be presenting this piece of legislation for us to correct a centuries-old injustice.

Thank you, Madam Speaker PELOSI, for all you have done.

Thank you, Mr. HOYER. You have been a great help.

Thank you, Mr. CLYBURN, for the sage advice you have accorded.

All of the persons in leadership I thank. The newly formed leadership that is coming in, I appreciate and will celebrate and work with you.

But I also plan to appreciate and celebrate and work with persons across the aisle. I believe in compromise. I abhor capitulation. I don't want persons to capitulate as it relates to me and what I present; and I trust that they don't want me to capitulate as it relates to them and what they present.

I think cooperation and a certain degree of negotiation will allow us to get some great things done. So I look forward to working with all.

I am grateful.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

ISSUES OF THE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOWMAN). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2021, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas, and I wish him well and a very Merry Christmas with his family, and save travels home.

I too share his affinity for wanting to work across the aisle. I have done so on numerous occasions. I am fairly well known for speaking my mind on the House floor. But I am happy to work across the aisle, and also an equal opportunity basher of both sides when I disagree.

But I wish we would have vigorous debate here on the floor of the House. A lot of things that the gentleman from Texas talked about, I agree wholeheartedly. The immigrants he discussed wanting to come to the United States; I would like them to have safe passage under our rules and under our laws.

Right now we have a broken system that is endangering lives; lives of immigrants and endangering lives of Americans.

We talked about the ideals and the values of this country, and I share those ideals and values.

I would ask and inquire of my colleagues in the body broadly, how can we maintain those ideals if we are bankrupt?

How can we maintain those ideals if we are writing checks we can't cash?

I can give speech after speech after speech about this topic, but unless we change our ways on both sides of the aisle, this country will not survive.

I don't know what it is going to take to get the people who are entrusted to run this country—and that starts in this Chamber, the power of the purse, entrusted to the people's House, we are abusing it. We are conducting our duties irresponsibly, both sides of the aisle.

Today, the United States Senate, the Senate, supposedly, the "upper chamber," the House of Lords in the United States, if you will, sent us—or is in the process of sending us, after voting for it, a 4,155-page bill, unveiled yesterday morning at 1:30 a.m., that will cost \$1.7 trillion.

This bill will increase spending \$118 billion. This bill has \$45 billion for the country of Ukraine; 21 percent over President Biden's request, by the way.

\$40 billion for disaster relief. \$15 billion for 7,234 earmarks, with the senior Senator of Alabama, RICHARD SHELBY, walking out of the Senate with a legacy of \$670 million. I believe the senior

Senator said that monuments are for pigeons and dogs in response to my criticism.

Well, there is a lot of stuff in your name in Alabama, and you just got some more, Senator SHELBY. Is that what this is about?

Because who is paying for that? He is not paying for it. Our kids and grandkids are paying for it.

You know what else we are paying for? We are paying for \$500,000 to the Long Island Gay and Lesbian Youth Incorporated; \$113,000 to the LGBT Center of Greater Reading, Pennsylvania; \$1.5 million for The Loft: LGBTQ+ Community Center new home project in New York, which I got excoriated as somehow being hateful for tweeting that out earlier by one of my colleagues.

Now, hold on a second. So I am hateful for raising whether or not we should have \$1.5 million set aside for The Loft: LGBTQ+ Community Center in New York that is then divvied up by both age and sexual identity or preference. Okay. I am the bad guy for thinking that maybe taxpayers are thinking, Why are we doing that?

\$750,000 for New York-based In Our Own Voices, Inc., which aims to strengthen the voices of LGBT people of color and increase their capacity for combating oppression and marginalization.

\$250,000 to support Wisconsin's first in the Nation gay rights law book and archive.

How about the climate agenda? \$1.3 million for workforce development activities at a climate change education center in the Los Angeles Community College District.

\$3 million for clean energy workforce development at the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority; \$200,000 for the Rhode Island AFL-CIO's climate jobs workforce training initiative.

\$875,000 for green energy on demand at Clarkson University; \$400,000 for the placement of at-risk young adults into the green jobs industry.

\$2 million for community driven air quality environmental justice assessment at the University of Illinois.

\$2 million for a climate change impact on water initiative at Texas State University. I represent Texas State University and that is garbage. Why are we doing this?

\$10 million for the State of Hawaii's zero emission bus program; \$1.6 million for the Center for Wind Energy at UT Dallas. Texas is pretty well represented with all these earmarks.

Inequality and equity, the omni funds pointless equity initiatives and subsidies even more radical ideologies, such as \$1.5 million for equity and ecosystem help through water column development; \$2.25 million for the shoreline equity and adaptation hub.

\$750,000 for the acquisition of a building in Brooklyn, New York, to create the Brooklyn Center for Social Justice, Entrepreneurship, and the Arts.

\$300,000 for the city of Sacramento's Neighborhood Equity Initiative.

\$477,000 for the Equity Institute's "teacher professional development."

□ 1715

How about racial wokeness? A few examples:

\$443,000 for the Racial Justice Improvement Project, Montgomery County DA's office.

\$1 million for the Penumbra Theatre in St. Paul, Minnesota, to develop and implement a curriculum for racial healing and equity training.

\$800,000 for Economic Development For Black Communities in Colorado.

\$750,000 for a minority-owned small business emergency assistance program in Seattle.

I could go on and on and on. For all the things that are put in here divvying us up by race, divvying us by gender ideology—all of those earmarks just flooding out with money we don't have.

That is not even the worst of it. That is not even the actual irresponsibility of this body. That is just pork spending that this body is used to doing to the tune of \$15 billion, \$16 billion.

The real problem is that we are funding a whole alphabet soup of Federal agencies that are demonstrably not doing their jobs—more importantly, are demonstrably targeting the American people.

The Department of Homeland Security is getting \$3.2 billion more with no policy changes required, in fact, unbelievably, with restrictions on how that money can be used. It may not be used for security. It may only be used for processing more people.

That is what our Democratic colleagues and, unfortunately, a sizable bloc of Republicans believe is a good use of your taxpayer money.

Hey, guys, the Department of Homeland Security is doing such a crack job of securing the homeland, they are doing such a great job at the border, let's give them some more money to not secure the border, and let's restrict it from being able to be used to do any of the security that the line Border Patrol agents actually want to do their job.

There you go. That is what you got. And what happened in the Senate today? What happened in the Senate today? I will tell you what happened in the Senate today.

BLUNT, BOOZMAN, CAPITO, COLLINS, CORNYN, COTTON, GRAHAM, INHOFE, MCCONNELL, MORAN, MURKOWSKI, PORTMAN, ROMNEY, ROUNDS, SHELBY, THUNE, WICKER, and YOUNG: 18 Republicans who campaigned on fiscal responsibility, who campaigned on securing the border, who campaigned on balancing the budget, who campaigned against the swamp, who run commercials saying they are going to change this place did the swampiest thing you can possibly do, and that is to vote for a 4,100-page bill they got just yesterday, not knowing remotely what all is

in the bill because it was cooked up behind closed doors with no appropriations meetings, jamming it over a new House Republican majority, doing it intentionally to prevent us from being able to debate and vote on how we are going to fund Ukraine, how we are going to fund our own national defense, how we are going to fund nondefense discretionary spending, and ensure that we use that money to secure the border of the United States.

That is what your Republican Senators, those 18, did to you, America. Remember it. Remember it when Republicans are going around thumping their chests, talking about changing this town when they are neck-deep drowning in the swamp, when they are emblematic of everything wrong with the swamp. Remember it. Remember it.

I don't like saying it. I have friends on both sides of the aisle, and some of these 18 are my friends. But do you know what? John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had a pretty testy relationship because they fought over the way this country should be run and be set up.

We are hired to fight for the people we represent, so I will be damned if I am going to give a rat's rear end whether I offend some of the people in this godforsaken town because I dare question, regardless of which party they are in, regardless of who they say they are friends with or who they campaign with, I will be darned if I am going to be cowed into not calling out what you see unfold before you with your very eyes.

Leader MITCH MCCONNELL called the bill "a strong outcome for Republicans."

The arguments that I have heard from some of the Members include this argument. Having lost a vote for a continuing resolution until the new Republican majority takes over in January, we had two bad choices: cast a protest vote against funding our military, veterans, Border Patrol, and other essential government functions, or vote for a flawed bill.

That is what happens in this town. This was a setup, ladies and gentlemen. It was purposeful. Well orchestrated by MITCH MCCONNELL. I do not question that. He is good at playing these games in this town, as is virtually everybody associated with the appropriations process and leadership of the House and the Senate.

They have all the excuses in the world: There is a troop pay raise. There is a helicopter that we need to buy. There are missiles we need to buy. There are boats and planes we need to buy. Because of that, we must cast a vote for a flawed bill rather than "a protest vote."

A protest vote? What is a protest vote? My vote, which I will cast whenever we get this monstrosity finally sent over here, whenever the Committee on Rules goes through their sham process—and it is a sham process, ladies and gentlemen.

They will entertain some amendments, and they will give some perfunctory, "Let's review it." They will kick it down here to the floor. There will be no debate, no amendments offered. It will be jammed through because every one of the people in this Chamber, both sides of the aisle—maybe not everyone, the vast majority—they want to get on their jets and get home for Christmas.

You should have seen the wailing and gnashing of teeth last night when MIKE LEE was offering an amendment over in the Senate to try to address the expiration of title 42 and what is going to occur if the Supreme Court lifts its stay. What is going to happen in Texas, what is going to happen to the United States, what is going to happen to migrants, the empowerment of cartels, the fentanyl pouring into our country, MIKE LEE dared to try to do something about that.

You should have seen the wailing and gnashing of teeth: Well, what are you going to do? We don't want to be here until Christmas.

Why don't you tell that to George Washington and the boys crossing the Delaware in 1776 or the boys in Bastogne in 1944?

What were they doing on Christmas? Were they trying to fly out of the Nation's Capital in their jets back to their homes around their warm fireplaces so they could be with their families after they absolutely just royally screwed the country and their kids and grandkids? Because that is what they just did. That is what this body, this House Chamber, the people's House, is going to do tomorrow morning.

Mr. Speaker, \$600 million more for the Federal Bureau of Investigation while doing nothing to stop it from colluding with Big Tech, targeting parents, or harassing pro-lifers, all of which the FBI is doing as we speak.

It is better than that, ladies and gentlemen across the country. They are getting a brand-new headquarters. Do you want to know what almost derailed this lovely \$1.7 trillion piece of legislation? A fight over where to put the fancy new FBI headquarters.

These are the important things we do here in this city. Let's figure out who can get their pork back home in the form of a massive Federal agency that is involved on a daily basis in targeting the American people in the name of law enforcement. That sounds like a winning prize for the people of either Maryland or Virginia. Let's grow this greater metropolitan area even more.

What could do more for the people of the United States than to have a fancy new FBI headquarters filled with all sorts of people who are conspiring to target the American people and actually label a father as a domestic terrorist for daring to go to a school board meeting?

By the way, the superintendent of that school system has been indicted. These are all the things that just get swept aside, pushed to the corner. Nobody wants to talk about it.

Where are my colleagues, by the way? I get an hour of debate time down here. Where is everybody? Are they sipping on some eggnog with some whiskey and having some steak dinners or something?

What is more important than sitting down here on the floor and highlighting the fraud being perpetrated on the American people right before our eyes, a complete and utter disastrous fraud, endorsed by 18 Republican Senators—I hope none of my Republican colleagues in this Chamber, but we will see—a bill that will fundamentally limit our ability to secure the border.

It is actually in the dang bill. They don't even pretend anymore, ladies and gentlemen. They don't even try to hide it. They actually put the text in the bill that says this money cannot be used to secure the border of the United States. It can only be used to process people. That is in the text of this bill.

Let me be clear to those 18 United States Senators: That alone should have been enough to have you vote "no" on this bill. Yet, you voted for it.

It should have been enough that we are giving another \$600 million to the FBI and building a new headquarters.

It should have been enough that there is more money for ATF and all sorts of provisions to go after law-abiding gun owners. It should have been enough that there was \$2.5 billion more for NIH, which funded gain-of-function research in Wuhan and pays Anthony Fauci's salary in perpetuity, and hires CRT propaganda speakers.

I say again to those 18 Republican Senators: You own this. You own every one of those earmarks that I listed and said in this speech, every one of those earmarks that I put out in a tweet thread earlier. You own it. You own it with the kind of reasoning that says: Well, you vote for a flawed bill instead of casting a "protest vote."

It is not a protest vote to come to the Chamber where you were hired by your constituents to fight for them and vote against the funding of the very tyranny you campaigned against; to vote against the very irresponsible spending that is driving up our national debt, increasing inflation, weakening the dollar, undermining the American family; to vote against that; to vote against the funding of the Federal bureaucrats like, for example, the \$760,000 more going to the CDC, whose Director lied about vaccine efficacy while the CDC colluded with Big Tech to suppress free speech about vaccines.

How about the World Health Organization, giving them more money?

The State Department, \$3.6 billion: They fund drag shows in Ecuador and an LGBT group in Kazakhstan that advocates for transwomen sex workers with migration experience.

I don't care what you believe about these things. Why in the hell are the American people borrowing money to fund them? Someone explain that to me. Someone explain to me how it is in the interest of the United States, when

we are sitting here \$31.4 trillion in debt, to borrow more money to build more Federal buildings, to hire more Federal bureaucrats, to fund these kinds of earmark programs throughout the world, things that nobody in America actually wants to see happen. Poll it. Go ahead.

Elon, if you are listening, throw this out on Twitter for a poll. I promise you what the result will be.

□ 1730

The American people are beside themselves at an incompetent Chamber in this body and the other side of this building in the Senate who seem to wake up every single day and decide, how can we screw the American people over more today than we did yesterday?

Well, today is a banner day in the annals of this supposedly august institution known as the United States Congress:

\$560 million for an EPA destroying reliable energy;

\$574 million for a Department of Interior that has leased fewer Federal acres for oil and gas development than any administration since World War II.

Before I turn it over to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PERRY), my friend, I assume tomorrow, after voting for this monster of a bill as a body—not individually—I assume that we will all be heading out for Christmas. This bill will pass. This bill will become law.

My question for this body, heading into the 118th Congress, is what are we going to do to change the way we do business? This is no way to operate. You cannot drop 4,000 page, \$1.7 trillion bills onto the floor of the Senate, jam it through, send it over here so bad that we are having to wait to get it by midnight, work through the Rules Committee to vote on it in the morning so everybody can get out to beat a winter storm.

We had all year. All year we had to try to fund this Federal Government responsibly, and we failed. We fail every year. No corporation would put up with this garbage. Every one of us would be fired. And we should be.

And I will just say right now, if my colleagues will join with me to all resign, I will resign. I would love to clean this place out. I would love to get rid of every last person in here, including my friends, because if you took, in the words of William Buckley, the first 435 names in the phone book, can they do any worse than the schleps in this body? I don't for the life of me understand how it can be possible to do worse than we do.

And the Senate itself, hell, the Senate makes us look like William the Conqueror. They don't even bother to do Appropriations Committee work. They just scoff and sit at their tables and go, well, we will just do the work for them. Yeah, thanks, Mitch.

Mr. PERRY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania for the purposes of a colloquy.

Mr. PERRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas, and I wish to offer him a Merry Christmas and a Merry Christmas to the people of the United States of America.

Unfortunately, in your stocking is not going to be something you probably hoped for. I don't think it is going to be a lump of coal. It is \$1.7 trillion that we don't have. \$1.7 trillion, 4,155 pages plus, I don't know, a couple thousand pages of what is called report language that barely any of us had an opportunity to read, released in the—was it last night, Chip?

Mr. ROY. Yes, 1:30 in the morning.

Mr. PERRY. The shortest day of the year, the darkest day of the year, and now we are voting on it without—

Let's face it, let's talk about some of the things we know that are in it. We already know, as the gentleman from Texas told us, that your tax dollars, the dollars your Federal Government is spending, is prohibited from stopping people coming across the border illegally. Prohibited to be used for that.

Here is what can be used: \$400 million for the border security of Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt, and Oman. Think about that. Right now, while title 42 is on the verge of going away, they are estimating we literally have 18,000 people per day coming across the border illegally. We are going to spend \$400 million in the Middle East to secure their borders, and we are going to say to the United States of America, you can't spend any tax dollars to defend your own border. That passed in the U.S. Senate today.

\$140 million on carbon dioxide removal technologies;

\$540 million on energy storage because the preferred sources of energy by my friends on that side of the aisle don't work. So we need that.

\$220 million on solar energy. I thought solar energy came of age and was supportive of itself without subsidy.

\$380 million for alternative modes of transport because, ladies and gentlemen of America, my friends on the other side of the aisle actually don't want you to drive a car or own a car. And if you do have the temerity to think you are going to go somewhere in your own car, it better be an electric vehicle that you are going to plug in and charge when they allow you to charge it. We need \$380 million for that.

I was at the grocery store a couple days ago with my family—my wife, our girls were there—having a conversation about what we are going to buy for Christmas for the in-laws and family coming over, and a lady was listening to the conversation, Chip, and she said, "I am not paying \$5 for a dozen eggs. I am not paying \$5 for a dozen eggs."

I don't see one darn thing in this bill that is going to solve that lady's problem.

Whether it is the gas prices—right now the temperature is dropping all across the United States of America, and people are going to have to pay for the electricity, the heating oil, the propane, the natural gas, something to heat their homes, and they are going to be paying a lot. And there is nothing in here for that.

But I will tell you what is in here: \$1.3 million in an earmark for water storage tanks just outside of Washington, D.C. The wealthiest counties in the United States of America right here, but we have got an earmark for them because they need a water storage tank.

How about \$1.5 million for the Pasadena on-street dining project? \$1.5 million for a student garden in Sacramento?

I am not saying that these projects aren't worthy of discussion for somebody. If you live in Pasadena and you want on-street dining, God bless you. It is probably important to you.

You tell me, Mr. ROY, when our country is at \$31.4 trillion in debt and careening headlong into \$32 trillion, how in the world is that a Federal project? The people in Pennsylvania, who would love to go to Pasadena, we would love to see our team in the Rose Bowl. That is on our team.

Mr. ROY. There is a joke in there somewhere.

Mr. PERRY. That is on our team, I get that. But how is it the people of Pennsylvania or Texas or Maine or anywhere across the country's job, why is it their responsibility to pay for that? I don't get it.

\$2 million for programs promoting career pathways into government service because, goodness knows, there is not enough people in government service. We need to find a way to get them into it.

How about a \$50 million endowment fund at the University of Alabama?

Let's not stop there.

How about \$10 million for an Institute on Public Service and Leadership at the University of Alabama?

Mr. ROY. Hey, wait a minute. Does the gentleman have any ideas about why Alabama might be receiving so many of these earmarks?

Mr. PERRY. Well, the retiring Senate chief appropriator, Senator SHELBY, happens to come from Alabama. I have got nothing bad to say about Alabama. I spent a fair amount of time down there. I love Alabama.

Here again, I don't know why Pennsylvanians, Texans, North Dakotans, Californians, whoever, have to pay for this. What is the Federal nexus to this spending of money that we don't have?

I am going to turn it back over to my friend here in a minute. We can just go back and forth because I have got plenty here. I know he does, too.

How about \$4 million for a Bahamian Museum of Arts and Culture, Florida?

\$1.4 million to restore an outdoor amphitheater in California.

\$1.7 million for an urban agriculture garden in California.

Look, the list just—we are going to get into it, but, people, when are we going to start asking ourselves whose responsibility this is and when are we going to start asking ourselves, is this ever going to change?

We haven't had the process here where the Senate and the House passed its own budget, its own appropriations bills, conferenced them, worked out their differences, and then had a vote on that, that process that I just described, how our government was set up to spend your money, that hasn't happened since 1996.

It is 2022. What is it going to take for us to finally say, "Man, we have had enough. I call uncle. I can't take anymore," and change this place?

I would submit to you that the leadership that has allowed this to continue—and not only allowed it to continue, to ensure that it has continued—is derelict, irresponsible, and accountable to this tragic, epic, enormous failure. This is a failure, and there has got to be an accounting for it.

Just because it is hours and days before Christmas, and it is real cold outside, and we have got worries about our children's schooling, being able to pay the bills, grocery bills, fuel bills, electric bills, don't think that we as the American people don't see what is happening here. We see it, and we see who is doing it. And we are not going to tolerate it.

Mr. Speaker, I turn it back over to my good friend from Texas.

Mr. ROY. My friend from Pennsylvania makes a great deal of sense, and I can't help but observe the utter hypocrisy, with all due respect, of so many of our colleagues on this side of the aisle in both the so-called upper Chamber and the so-called people's House.

How about the junior Senator from Utah, MITT ROMNEY, when he said in 2021, quote, Democrats want to spend boatloads of money at the wrong time and in the wrong ways instead of addressing inflation and dealing with the emerging threat of China. They are dead set on raising taxes and government giveaways. This isn't how we solve the problems facing Americans, end quote.

Well, the junior Senator from Utah just supported this monstrosity—opposed, I believe, the senior Senator from Utah in the election this year, the senior Senator from Utah being the one who was trying to stop this monstrosity today.

How about the exiting senior Senator from Alabama? In July of 2022, just this year: "Inflation hit 9.1 percent today, another record high. This is devastating news for millions of hard-working Americans. The Biden administration remains remiss in getting inflation under control. Passing another massive tax-and-spend bill would be a mistake we cannot afford."

Well, here is the problem with Republicans, with all due respect to Republicans, they love to use the phrase tax

and spend, but my Republican colleagues, who oppose tax increases, which I generally do as well, sure have no problem with spend and spend.

Spend for defense, spend for non-defense discretionary, and then go with their tail tucked between their legs back home and go: I am sorry, I couldn't really do anything about it. Our hands were tied because we must have the spending for defense, and we must have the spending for Ukraine because somebody gave a fancy speech in this Chamber last night.

Mr. PERRY. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ROY. I will yield.

Mr. PERRY. You were talking about defense. Of course, as a citizen who has been honored to wear the uniform for over three decades, certainly the number one priority outlined in our Constitution is defending our Nation and its citizens. When we talk about spending for defense, are we talking about spending for the defense of the United States or is there anybody else here that you would like to discuss that we are spending on their defense?

Mr. ROY. That is a great question that my friend raises. The omnibus spending bill that is coming over to us from the Senate, to the best of my understanding, raises defense spending somewhere in the neighborhood of 8 to 10 percent, right?

Mr. PERRY. Is that what the President asked for?

Mr. ROY. It is more than what the President asked for, I believe.

Mr. PERRY. The President is the Commander in Chief, right?

Mr. ROY. Correct. But in addition to the increase in spending for our national defense, there is also an additional \$45 billion, which is almost the entire budget of our Department of Homeland Security, by the way, \$45 billion additional to go to Ukraine on top of the almost \$60 billion already approved, authorized this last year, bringing it to somewhere around \$100 billion, again for Ukraine, well eclipsing, almost doubling our own Department of Homeland Security budget, well eclipsing the entire defense budget of Russia. American taxpayers are paying for that.

We talked about, I think, the 8 to 10 percent increase in defense spending. I would have to look at my notes. A sizable pop of money.

Is the gentleman in agreement, because the gentleman served in the United States military for 30 years, and I thank him for it, just like I thank every other veteran and every other Active-Duty member of our United States military for standing up to defend this country, but I don't think the gentleman did that in order to rack up more debt and to destroy our financial security. I don't think the gentleman did that in order to throw 10 percent more money to the Department of Defense, a Department of Defense which is continually more of a social engineering experiment

wrapped in a uniform than it is a military designed to kill people and blow things up. Would the gentleman agree?

□ 1745

Mr. PERRY. I would agree with that, and I think that the gentleman from Texas would also agree. Look, neither of us like what Vladimir Putin or the country of Russia has done to its neighbor, Ukraine. Being a bully, invading, blowing up their buildings and their infrastructure, killing their citizens is unacceptable. It is unacceptable. We all know that, and we all want to help.

At the same time, our military is being destroyed by our own country, not some other country. We are not focused. As an individual citizen who has been privileged and honored to serve in uniform, I can tell you we are not focused on keeping our country safe; we are focused on a bunch of woke policies that are undermining the good order and discipline and the fighting spirit and the focus of our military.

If we are spending money on the military, we need to spend money on our military. If we are spending money on the borders of Ukraine or Tunisia or Egypt, we certainly need to spend money on the borders of the United States of America, not just to process individuals coming across illegally—that is what we are doing—but actually to thwart those people coming illegally.

And as important, the criminal element is coming in, the cartel involvement, the human trafficking and smuggling, the fentanyl is coming in and killing American citizens—now just reported at a record rate higher than the year before, which was at a record rate.

What will it take, 4,100 pages? What will it take before we start concentrating on the citizens of the United States of America?

No one raises their right hand in this Chamber and takes an oath to defend Tunisia or Ukraine or any of those other countries. It is the United States of America, our Constitution, and our citizens.

Mr. ROY. I would just ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania: Do you recall when the gentleman and myself came to the floor of the House right after the invasion of Ukraine by Putin, and we spoke right here at this table, and we spoke about the horrors being inflicted and the evil being perpetrated by Vladimir Putin, the extent to which we were in solidarity with the people of Ukraine and wanting to stand up and defend their country against the thuggish behavior and the willful destruction of lives and the carnage that had been carried out by Vladimir Putin and the Russian Army?

Does the gentleman remember our being here on the floor talking about that in the early stages, wanting to stand up and support the people of Ukraine before this Chamber embarked on a 9-month spending spree without any pay-fors and without any signifi-

cant accountability or knowledge of how the dollars were flowing and without any care and concern about what we are doing for our sovereignty and security on the home front; does the gentleman remember that?

Mr. PERRY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. PERRY. Of course, I do. Of course, I remember.

Mr. ROY. And does the gentleman believe that it is possible for people who have concerns about these things—about the spending, about the ridiculous decisionmaking in this Chamber—to want to stand up and be able to say that they stand with the people of Ukraine in solidarity but don't believe that writing a blank check is in their interest, our interest, or anybody's interest?

Mr. PERRY. That is exactly right. We all want to help, but you don't write a check that you can't afford. There is no money in your bank account to pay for somebody's house down the street while leaving your house unpaid for and your back door open where you know criminals are going to be walking in and taking your children out and leaving life-threatening drugs on your kitchen table; you would not do that.

Mr. ROY. I want to lay that foundation about our shared desire to stand in solidarity with the people of Ukraine; whatever that means in terms of resources, that should be debated.

And by the way, side note: Have we ever had a full, robust debate with amendments and being able to offer any kind of discussion here about Ukraine on the floor of the house?

Mr. PERRY. Have we had any debate?

Mr. ROY. On any matter whatsoever.

So what I would inquire of the gentleman is does he agree with this: If you go back and look about what is going on, everything you are seeing unfold before your eyes, America, is a setup? It is a complete setup.

You go back to September, and a block of about 42 of us wrote a letter to the leaders of these august bodies saying, Hey, how about not doing a continuing resolution into the middle of December right before Christmas? How about you not do that because we know exactly what that results in.

We sent that letter.

What happened in September?

A continuing resolution right until the middle of December.

Now, you get to the continuing resolution in the middle of December, and there is all sorts of chatter about: Will there be a continuing resolution into early 2023 with a new House majority?

Never in the last 70 years have we had a change, a transfer in the majority of the House Chamber and had the Senate do what it did today, which is jam through a massive spending bill with the existing House, soon to be minority, and jam it through.

Now, fast-forward to right now, and what do you have? We have this bill sent to us that spends \$1.7 trillion: a 10 percent increase in defense spending; \$42 billion increase in nondefense spending, which is 6 percent; Ukraine funding of \$45 billion; disaster relief funding of \$40 billion; and \$15 billion of earmarks that I went through and described a little bit ago.

Who spoke in the Chamber in the United States House of Representatives last night, other than the President of Ukraine?

Now, does the gentleman believe, as I do, that that is not an accident?

The entire setup from the House Republicans and the Senate Republicans working with the Democrat leadership in both Chambers was to set that up so that you have the President of Ukraine speaking here saying we have got to pass this massive spending bill because you had the whole theatrical event set up from the beginning, set up to expire right before Christmas to then jam through 7,200 earmarks, a massive amount of spending, a continued explosion of the bureaucratic state, a restriction on the ability to secure the border, all because you knew you had a handful of Republicans on the hook who couldn't help themselves because we are talking about defense and we are talking about Ukraine.

Does the gentleman think that maybe that stuff is not a coincidence?

Mr. PERRY. Is the gentleman suggesting—even though we all know that we want to help, what is happening in Ukraine is objectionable, we disagree with every bit of it, what Russia is doing—but is the gentleman suggesting that the first time since the war started that the leader in Ukraine left the country, are you suggesting it is a coincidence that he ended up in the United States speaking on this very House floor from that dais right there on the night before the 4,155-page omnibus passed with billions upon tens of billions in funding for his country was included, are you suggesting that wasn't just a coincidence?

Mr. ROY. I am suggesting that it was in no way, shape, or form a coincidence. I am suggesting that it was purposeful theater designed very specifically to create the winds in the sails of the appropriation process which is badly broken, and we get a 4,100-page bill dropped on us that we then must vote for. Right? Have to vote for it.

Mr. PERRY. You don't want to shut the government down right before Christmas, CHIP. That can never happen, which is why the gentleman from Texas suggests that this is a setup.

The CR, the continuing resolution—because we don't pass budgets, because we don't complete our appropriations process, so we don't know what we are going to fund, so the continuing resolution has to keep going, and we do it right into December right before Christmas knowing—like this has never happened before—but we know that, guess what, people that come to

Washington, D.C., from around the country, you know what they would like to do, Mr. ROY from Texas?

They would like to go home to see their families on Christmas. But the only way they are going to be allowed to do it is if they vote for whatever is in that bill. They can object or whatever, but they know if it doesn't pass, if the 4,100-page bill with \$1.7 trillion loaded up with earmarks doesn't pass, what happens then?

Well, you just have to stay during Christmas, and, oh, my goodness, just like you said, the gentleman from the 28th Infantry Division fighting in Bastogne fighting to save Bastogne before the 101st could get there, they spent their Christmas away from home.

This is all designed to get exactly what we got. This is broken, and the leadership here in the House and the Senate has done nothing to change this trajectory. It cannot continue.

Mr. ROY. I would add that my 13-year-old son was telling me yesterday morning while I was getting ready to catch the plane to come to Washington, as we were stacking firewood for my wife and daughter and son to use during this cold snap coming into Texas, and he and I were talking and he said, "Well, Dad"—basically begging me—"you are going to be home for Christmas, right?"

You know, that is my 13-year-old son, and I don't get to see him a lot when I am up here. And he is saying, "Dad, you are going to be here for Christmas, right?"

And my daughter was saying the same thing, but my son was asking the question. And I said, "Look, son, I hope so. Of course, I want to be here for Christmas, but under no circumstances am I going to walk away from my duty to fight to give you the country that I inherited, that my dad inherited from his dad, and so forth and so forth."

Yet, most of my colleagues in this Chamber were so itching to be able to get on their plane or get in their car and go home that last night there was group that were apoplectic that we might be stuck here, that we might be stuck here until Sunday, which is Christmas day, I had multiple people come to me and say, "Well, what is Senator LEE going to do?"

What is going to happen?"

Well, heaven forbid, we do our job. Heaven forbid, we do something responsibly. I would ask the gentleman, with a \$118 billion increase in spending on our annual year-over-year spending, not including Ukraine spending, not including the disaster relief spending, the emergency spending, on top of the almost \$5 trillion we spent in response to COVID, do you think there is a correlation to government action and government spending to inflation?

Would the gentleman agree that it is government that causes inflation based on our actions, our spending, our policy choices?

Mr. PERRY. So to answer the good gentleman from Texas, the Federal Re-

serve is trying to cool down the fires of an overinflated, overheated economy by raising the interest rates and targeting the housing market. New home buyers that are hoping to get out there and start their lives in their new homes, they cut their purchases in half or whatever, because they can't afford it. The Federal Reserve is trying to cool down this overheated economy, inflationary pressures and food and gasoline and oil, electricity, housing, meanwhile the House of Representatives and the Senate and the Presidency here in Washington, D.C., are throwing the gasoline on the fire, the gasoline of unaccounted for money, unprinted money, untaxed money, just creating money out of thin air and throwing it onto the fire.

I would agree with the gentleman from Texas.

I would tell him, as well, that my daughters would like their father to be home for Christmas, too. My daughter texted me today when she knew I wasn't coming home yet, she said, "Stay strong and save America."

So me and Mr. ROY, the gentleman from Texas, we are going to stay here until the bitter end and do our duty, and we are going to say things like \$4.2 million in earmarks for parking spaces in the Northern Mariana Islands or \$6 million to expand the reach of the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library might be important things, but can we afford them?

What is the Federal responsibility?

And oh, by the way, regarding the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library, look, I am a fan, but the lady that offered that, her party is in favor of tearing down the statue of Ulysses S. Grant in New York.

The great emancipator, right? The guy that carried out Lincoln's order to make sure that slaves were no longer held in the United States of America.

But, you know, you can't tear it down on one hand and then spend \$6 million on it on the other hand while people are struggling to buy their Christmas presents or their Christmas meals.

Mr. ROY. I assume the gentleman would agree that when we are talking about this spending—let's pause for a second.

Let's just set aside the fact that we are giving a \$76 billion increase to a Defense Department, which has not been held accountable for its departure from Afghanistan, leaving billions behind, walking away from Bagram, undermining our interests, no accountability, no review of the woke policies, orders not to use terms like "mom" and "dad" at the Air Force academy or a whole story yesterday about the Marines maybe walking away from the use of "sir" and "ma'am," it is just a fundamental undermining of the culture of the Department of Defense—purposeful by the way.

□ 1800

Every recruit and every member of the Armed Forces Active Duty whom I

have talked to says that it is gutting the ability to recruit, and it is gutting the ability to have strong morale.

Let's put aside that. Let's put aside \$45 billion for Ukraine without accountability and a knowledge of how it is being spent and what it is being used for in our national security interests. Let's set aside \$40 billion for disaster relief. I don't even know where it is going.

Let's set aside the \$16 billion in earmarks my friend just talked about and that he and I outlined. Let's set aside the \$3 billion for DHS with no policy changes and, in fact, language inserted in the bill that prevents us from actually securing the border while processing more people; the \$600 million for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the new headquarters for the FBI; the \$215 million for ATF; \$2.5 billion for NIH which is basically at war with freedom and forcing needles into the arms of the American people and undermining the freedom of the American people in terms of their health choices and paying Anthony Fauci's salary; a CDC of \$760 million; the World Health Organization; the State Department at \$3.6 billion; an Education Department which is administering Biden's \$400 billion student loan bailout, all of that stuff, let's ignore all of that.

Let's ignore all of those horrible policies and all the things that he is doing to undermine our freedom and creating the alphabet soup and expanding the alphabet soup of bureaucracy that is tyrannizing the American people.

Let's put all that aside. We are just talking about inflation, and we are spending more money and dumping more money. While we are raising interest rates to cool it, we are going to spend more money causing more inflation, undermining the dollar even more.

In July of 2022, we had MITCH MCCONNELL just saying that, oh, a few years back Republican policies created the best economy for American workers in a generation, low inflation, robust growth, record unemployment. Democrats' recklessness—Democrats' recklessness he said—has produced soaring inflation, slowing growth and growing risk of a full-on recession.

How about SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO from West Virginia in August of 2022 in an op-ed, thumping the lectern about the Inflation Reduction Act: "Americans understand pumping hundreds of billions of dollars into the economy and raising taxes will certainly not reduce inflation."

How about TODD YOUNG from Indiana: "About the border, this is a national security crisis. We must strengthen our border security."

How about MITT ROMNEY from Utah who told Mayorkas that he needed to secure the border and urged him to keep title 42 in place. And then he just worked against the whole effort today by the junior Senator from Utah.

Things are upside down, and we are spending money we don't have causing

inflation. Republicans go out and campaign against it, and then they do it.

And my Democratic colleagues have never once had an honest conversation on the floor of this House about what we are going to do about inflation, what we are going to do about spending money we don't have and racking up debt.

When I came to Congress as a staffer on the Senate Judiciary Committee, our national debt in 2003 was about \$6 trillion, I think. We are at \$31.4 trillion and climbing.

The question here is: Are we going to do anything about it?

The resounding answer from this body,—including my colleagues on this side of the aisle—is: No, we are not.

So I think my question for the gentleman is: Does he share my belief that it is time to end the status quo and that it is time for a radical departure from the way we are doing things?

It is time to change the way we are doing business in the House of Representatives. It is time for a change to do the way we are doing business in the United States Senate, and it is our job to keep our heads up high as not conservatives and not Republicans or Democrats but as Americans who want to actually do the hard work necessary to be responsible stewards of this country and of our great birthright.

Does the gentleman agree with me that as we head into the 118th Congress and as Republicans are in the majority that we must fundamentally change this institution from top to bottom, from the leadership down?

This place must change, and we will not accept anything but change. That is why we were sent here. As we exit here for Christmas, as my friend goes home to his daughter and I go home to my son and my daughter, I am not going to look them in the eye and say that I didn't do everything I know how to do so we can change this place so that we can save America for them.

Mr. PERRY: I agree with the gentleman with this caveat: It is not just time; it is long past time.

I would suggest to the good gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY) that he has worked diligently in his time here within the system, within the status quo, to make these changes.

Others do not want to make too many ripples because you have to work with these folks, and this is the system that is set up, and if you make everybody mad at you, how are you going to be effective?

The status quo is not working, ladies and gentlemen. We have tried. We have tried to work within the system that is here. The system that is here produces this.

Do you know how I know?

Because since I have been here, this isn't the first time I have come to the mic. I can come here probably every few months and go through the same thing. It is not the first time right around Christmas we have got a short-term continuing resolution right before

Christmas so we can pass an omnibus and just keep on spending the money that we don't have and more programs that don't make any sense.

We have got \$3 million for the University of Maine system to research wild blackberry production for changing markets and climates.

Well, my goodness, as a man who had to pick blueberries—that was my first job was picking fruit, and blueberries were one of them—I don't know why it is the job of the whole country to pay for the University of Maine to figure out about blueberry production.

Ladies and gentlemen, this system is broken. The status quo doesn't work for Americans. The lady that has to buy these blueberries and can't afford them doesn't care about this system here. She doesn't care about the status quo and making colleagues uncomfortable in this Chamber or the other one. What she cares about is feeding her children and feeding her family. And right now she can't afford to do it because of the status quo.

This cannot continue. Something has to change. Einstein said that doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different outcome is the definition of insanity.

Ladies and gentlemen, citizens of America, we are doing the same things under the same conditions with the same people, and somehow, we think something is going to change.

Well, it is not going to change unless we change it.

We are highlighting this tonight. The gentleman from Texas and I are here highlighting this tonight to tell you how egregious it is, how long it has been going on, and to elicit your support—your support—calling your Representatives and your Senators and saying: This will not stand. We are sick and tired of this: \$2.52 million for an electric battery and an electric charging station program at some community college; \$6.85 million for real estate strategies to obtain equity property acquisition and redevelopment in Delaware.

Why is that your job to pay for that?

We don't have the money to pay for that.

You would like it in your community I bet. But you are going to pay for it in someone else's.

Mr. ROY. Merry Christmas to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and merry Christmas to the staff here. God bless you all and thank you for all the work you do for this country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair and not to a perceived viewing audience.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.